

## New York Tribune

First in Last—the Truth: News—Editorials—Advertisements  
Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1922

Owned by New York Tribune Co., a New York Corporation. Published daily, except on Sundays, holidays and days when the paper is closed for publication. Office: 134 Nassau Street, New York City. Telephone: 1000.

Subscription Rates: By Mail, in Advance. One Year, \$12.00; Six Months, \$7.00; Three Months, \$4.00. Single Copies, 10 Cents.

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erty has done some things well and some poorly. The chief bitterness against him is based upon something that he did well—his ending of the shopmen's strike by a vigorous use of the injunction. To what extent the injunction therein granted is sound law may still be debated. But it was duly granted by a court, and the talk of impeaching Mr. Daugherty for his entirely lawful and patriotic procedure therein was the vilest nonsense.

It could be a sorry day for government in America if such a partisan misuse of a constitutional power should prevail. The vindication of Mr. Daugherty in swift and dramatic fashion is a cause for general congratulation. The slanders of the Administration owe an apology to Mr. Harding and to the public.

## "War Mad" Europe

"The European nations must cut their military expenditures" was the demand of certain Senators upon reading the figures presented to the Senate by the State Department giving the expenditures of the various nations for national defense. As usual the chief criticism fell upon "militaristic" France. A casual glance at the table shows apparently fabulous sums being spent—poor little broken Austria with 347 billions, Hungary with twenty-six billions, Czechoslovakia with nineteen billions, etc. As published these figures give the impression of a war-mad Europe. But what are these billions? How many dollars do these huge sums of depreciated currency really amount to?

A fair comparison is between the sums spent for actual national defense by the two leading nations, Great Britain and France, and the corresponding expenditures of the United States. Americans know that their nation is not militaristic; that its military expenditures have been reduced as swiftly as possible from a war-time level, and that its army and navy stand today at an extremely low point of strength and cost. What is the comparison? It shows that all three nations are devoting between 15 and 20 per cent of their budgets to national defense. Great Britain leads with a total expenditure on account of national defense of about \$740,000,000. The United States comes second with about \$668,000,000 and France third with \$403,000,000, or if the cost of her army of occupation be deducted about \$363,000,000.

The figures for Great Britain and France are based on statistics published by the League of Nations last August and cover the 1922 budget for France and the 1922-23 budget for the United Kingdom. In the foregoing totals they have been reduced to dollars on the basis of 7.7 cents per franc and \$4.43 per pound sterling, the mean rate of exchange for the year 1922 to date. In the case of the United States the fiscal year 1922-23 is used.

Inasmuch as no two nations have the same system of accounting nor list identical items under the heading "Army and Navy Appropriations," such a comparison is subject to certain discrepancies in detail. But the broad facts are fairly represented by these totals. The item of the cost of the army of occupation is a case in point. In the British and American figures this charge—a relatively small one—is included. In the French figures the Rhine army cost approximately \$40,000,000. All these services are performed at the cost of Germany, in connection with the enforcement of the peace terms, for the benefit of the Allies.

France, with her vulnerable eastern frontier, must depend upon her army for her first line of defense, just as Great Britain and the United States depend upon their navies. France's army burdens are, therefore, considerable. Despite this fact her army charges are only \$278,000,000, exclusive of the army of occupation, compared with \$270,000,000 for the United States and \$363,000,000 for the United Kingdom. If, the army of occupation charge be added France's army budget is about \$313,000,000. The naval expenditures for the three nations are: Great Britain, \$807,000,000; United States, \$298,000,000; France, \$75,000,000.

Thus the mythical billions spent by "war-mad" Europe fade into very moderate expenditures. The United States, separated from the nations of Europe and Asia by an ocean east and west, is seen to be spending from two-fifths to three-fifths more for defense than is France, with deadly enemies at her gates. Is it not time that the Pharisees of America ceased this particular brand of self-righteous untruth?

A Serious Oversight  
Carpenters, plumbers, painters and decorators, bricklayers, plasterers, even chauffeurs, get an opportunity to work at their trades if, happily, a step aside leads them into Sing Sing Prison. But, unfortunately, no provision has been made for poets. One James Morrissey, who asserts that he belongs to that profession, has discovered on his arrival there that he is without opportunity to follow his calling.

Instead of a pen or a typewriter Mr. Morrissey has received a pick, an instrument with which the Babylonian poets might have chiseled

madrigals or roundelays on sections of tile but which is unfitted for self-expression by the modern bard. How much the state, and even the world, may lose by keeping Mr. Morrissey mute and inglorious for the two years of his term is problematical. But at almost any time a major poet may become an inmate of the place, and surely some means should be found to convince him that so far as poets are concerned stone walls do not a prison make nor iron bars a cage.

Bunyan wrote in prison a work which people still affect to read, although public librarians are never put to the necessity of keeping more than one copy of it on hand. Sir Walter Raleigh, during his incarceration, wrote not only a history of the world but a number of delightful lays, among them being a reply to Marlowe's "A Passionate Shepherd to His Love."

It is a sad commentary on modern civilization that opportunities afforded prisoner-poets of old are now denied. The number of noble rages that might be repressed should the enactment of a law making the writing of free verse a felony fill the penitentiaries with poets is a thing dreadful to contemplate.

## On Rejecting New Constitutions

When New York in 1915 rejected by a 2 to 1 vote the new state constitution proposed by its constitutional convention the defeat was unprecedentedly overwhelming. Illinois on Tuesday last rejected a new constitution by a vote of almost 5 to 1. Cook County, containing the City of Chicago, went 17 to 1 against it. In some wards the ratio was 64 to 1.

Rarely has there been so completely one-sided a verdict in any general voting test in the United States.

The main reasons were two. Chicago's great vote in the negative was due to a clause proposing to restrict the city's representation in the General Assembly. "Down state" was counted on to rally enough strength to outweigh Chicago's protest; but the second of the main objections developed when "down state" revolted against the state income tax proposal. The farming districts went 2 and 3 to 1 against the whole constitution. Added to these large influences were the usual minority groups protesting against isolated clauses for reasons ranging from extreme reaction to extreme radicalism.

The Illinois defeat gives new point to the question How can a state best get for itself needed constitutional reform? Illinois in the process of rejecting what it did not want also rejected much that it did want.

The practical lesson must include the evident instinct of American voters against sweeping constitutional changes. That instinct may work blindly and wrongly, as it did in New York, but it must be recognized. Change, if it is to come at all, must clearly come step by step. The "piecemeal" method, so much discussed in this state in 1915, must be the road to amendment. The salvage from the Illinois defeat should be a general realization that, however possible in earlier days, "whole hog" constitutional reform simply will not work to-day.

## The Turkish Minorities

Much dust was stirred up at Lausanne over the rights of minorities in Turkey. Among the powers stirring it up were some which at the Paris peace conference declined to give guarantees of this sort while imposing them on other powers.

Turkey has never been unwilling to recognize the rights of religious and racial minorities. The policy of her earlier Sultans in this respect was far more liberal than that practiced in the rest of Europe. The Angora Nationalist government is doubly pledged to do what its representatives at Lausanne were reported as refusing to do. The Angora pact drawn up at Sivas on September 13, 1919, and ratified by the lower house of the Turkish Parliament on January 28, 1920, contains this article:

"Article V.—The rights of minorities will be confirmed by us on the same basis as is established in other countries by conventions hitherto concluded between the powers of the Entente, their adversaries and certain of their associates. At the same time we hold the firm conviction that the Muslim minorities of other countries shall benefit from similar guarantees."

The Nationalist Turks thus agreed long ago to accept the same minority codes that were forced at Paris on Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, and, in addition, on Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Greece and Rumania. They renewed their promise at the Mudania conference. In 1919 Lloyd George, Wilson, Clemenceau and Orlando would not consent to put their countries on a parity with the minor Allies in this respect, holding that such a grant of privileges to racial and religious minorities would lower the dignity of the major states.

The real question at Lausanne was, therefore, whether Turkey should be grouped with the unrestrained greater states or with the restrained minor states. But Turkey was perfectly satisfied to travel in the latter company.

The Polish, Czech, Jugo-Slav, Greek

and Rumanian minorities have an appeal to the League of Nations against their own governments. Turkey, by joining the league, will give her minorities a similar appeal. So Turkish minorities will wrestle enjoy far more legal recognition and greater community privileges than they do in Great Britain, France, Italy or the United States.

## Emergency Relief

In planning to relieve traffic congestion the Transit Commission very sensibly purposes to build the first new subway where it is most vitally needed. This is on an eleven-mile north and south line, partly under Eighth Avenue, between Chambers Street and the Billings estate, at West 122d Street.

Such a subway would immediately relieve congestion on the West Side of town. It would insure comfortable travel, even in the rush hours, on the Seventh Avenue subway between Forty-second Street and on its extension under Broadway from Forty-second Street through Washington Heights.

The fact that the commission in picking new routes selects first those which will most quickly remedy conditions that are becoming intolerable proves how wise Governor Miller was in appointing the present commissioners. Routes to the Bronx and to Brooklyn and to Staten Island must be built soon, of course, but the important thing is to keep the stream freely flowing under Manhattan Island.

If the Board of Estimate has the public spirit and intelligence to approve this plan, work will begin within nine months and construction be pushed rapidly to completion. If it insists on blocking the plan merely because it was drawn up by the Transit Commission a delay of perhaps a year in beginning operations will result and the present conditions of overcrowding will continue.

More Truth Than Poetry  
By James J. Montague

The Wiles of Greece  
Though often our statesmen complain  
That the publicist's pathway is  
That their labors are usually  
And the pay's not a quarter  
enough—  
The worst that they get when  
they make a mistake  
That sours the public's affection  
And arouses a demand for their  
scapings through the land  
Is to lose the ensuing election.

In Greece when they think that a king  
Is getting weak-minded or old,  
And is losing his power to swing  
The scepter he's handed to hold,  
The Greeks (who are quite an ex-  
citable race)  
Arise in profound indignation  
And send him away on the fol-  
lowing day  
To begin on a lifelong vacation.

When the Cabinet votes for a war  
In that country of Byronic  
song  
They never come back any more  
If the war, by a chance, should  
go wrong.  
Instead they are ranged in a line  
by a wall  
On the day that the nation's  
defeated,  
And when the whole lot have been  
shot on the spot  
Their blunder is seldom re-  
peated.

Though Sappho and Byron have  
sung  
Of this wonderful country of  
Greece,  
Where adversity always is young  
And poetry never shall cease,  
And though our great statesmen  
may sadly complain  
That the public's too quick with  
the ballot,  
They wouldn't last long in that  
nation of song  
That uses the gun for a ballot.

## Hope Not Dead

The football season is over, but undergraduates can still get themselves pretty badly hurt playing hockey.

## Utter Strangers

All the A. E. F. find they are Unknown Soldiers when they try to talk to Congressmen about another bonus bill.

## Economical

A thrifty wife is one who discovers that it is cheaper to buy an automatic than a ticket to Reno.

## Making Germany Pay

To the Editor of The Tribune.  
Sir: Certain facts in regard to Germany are indisputable:

1. Her promises are valueless; she has no thought of keeping them. Reparations should be forced by the methods Germany used against France in 1870.

2. As no reliance can be placed on Germany's word and as she did her utmost, in a savage and ruthless manner, to devastate and ruin France, France is entirely justified in demanding ample security for full reparation.

3. This security should have been exacted four years ago in Berlin, in the same manner in which Germany exacted reparation in Paris in 1870 and when Alsace and Lorraine were kept in part payment.

4. The temporary possession of the Ruhr district as security is now a modest and rational demand. If England and Italy will not join France in this move, they are then in honor bound to endorse Germany's note.

MINOT S. MORGAN.  
Detroit, Mich., Dec. 13, 1922.

## Political Timber

(From The Dallas Morning News)  
It's Shipping Board vs. Farm Bloc.  
Knock on wood.

## The Lantern

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## A Matter of Whiskers

King Michael was the most benignant of despots, a good administrator who conscientiously took correspondence school lessons in efficiency and always kept his desk clean, a lenient monarch who pardoned the most murderous criminals and put them in his bodyguard, and a faithful patron of all the arts, sciences and more dignified vices.

But he had his unconventional side. Like Haroun Al Raschid, he used to disguise himself and wander among the people. This habit grew upon him, until after some years of indulging it he found himself living two lives, and it was a question in his mind which was the more genuine.

As a King, he was bald and clean shaven. When he doffed the crown he donned a complete set of red whiskers, and the cab drivers and laborers and dock wallpoers and cops and bootleggers with whom he associated knew him as Big Red Smith.

Big Red Smith used to listen to the stories of complaint against the administration of King Michael, and he finally began to wonder about that individual. "This King Michael, now," Big Red Smith would say to himself, "does the best he can. He tries to be just and decent, but somehow he fails. There is a whole host of bubbling animosity against him in this realm, and all he ever knows about it is a little stray puff of steam blow and then, which his councilors say means nothing at all. But some day the lid will blow off!"

And the more Big Red Smith dug into the grievances of the people the more he sympathized with them, until he began to share their smothered animosity. "If the King is trying to do right," Big Red Smith would say to himself, "then it's the form of government that is wrong." But as soon as he took off his whiskers and put on his crown again and sat down on his throne in front of his desk of administration his point of view would change, and he would open his mail and curse his people for their ingratitude.

His spies began to bring King Michael reports of a widespread but secret agitation against the government, and they represented that the leader of the malcontents and spoli-sports was one Big Red Smith. King Michael, just for the looks of things, was forced to put a price on Big Red Smith's "head or alive," said King Michael, signing the warrant with a flourish.

And this persecution of Big Red Smith made that popular democrat still more popular. Heretofore Big Red Smith had been in the direction of moderation, but now that a price had been put upon his head he felt a personal anger against the smug courtiers and reactionary lords who had formed the king's inner circle. "I am a damned rotten bunch must go!" cried Big Red Smith, and the crowds cheered.

When the lid blew off Big Red Smith found himself at the head of a vast multitude who were animated by love of reality, by the desire for order and by the impulse to even up the old grudges of existence in about equal proportions. There was a wild and whirling day of bloodshed and arson in the capital city, with Big Red Smith in the van of sedition. The king fled to his country estate, and the whole of the city was a scene of anarchy. The king fled to his country estate, and the whole of the city was a scene of anarchy.

"King Michael!" cried Big Red Smith, "King Michael! Come and fight me!" And then, when he reached the palace, "The coward! He has fled!" "Big Red! Big Red to the throne!" cried a part of the crowd. For an instant Big Red had the honest impulse to put on the crown and take off the whiskers, but he recollected himself in time and made a speech telling them that there must be no more kings or crowns and that he considered himself merely their equal and always their humble servant. And they cheered harder than ever, for they had found the way to relief.

Big Red Smith had not met King Michael when he stormed the palace, but he was to meet him later. It is a thing which none of us can avoid, and the basic drama of existence is just that: when a man meets himself. There was a republic, and Big Red Smith was its chief; there was the threat of a counter-revolution, and Big Red Smith was forced to centralize all the forces of the land in himself and become a dictator.

And Big Red Smith, the Dictator, harassed and oppressed by cares and doubts and disillusion, used to wander the old familiar palace nights, the prey to insomnia, and debate theories of government with his imaginary friends. "I am more of a despot than King Michael used to be," he would murmur, perplexed. "But it's all right—I'm a despot for the sake of liberty."

And then, as he would say, "These new friends of mine are just as greedy and selfish, despite their new nomenclature of government, as the courtiers and aristocrats and merchant princes used to be. They will not let me rule wisely and justly, but are struggling against it, any more than the old crowd would. The people are contented because they think they are ruling themselves. . . . they would rather think they are ruling themselves, and have a poor government, than to rule by a nobody else and have a good government."

But the people did not stay contented. Certain of them began to say: "The monarchy was not perfect, and now the republic is not perfect. Let us be done with this game, and let us have an anarchy." And that question, also, Big Red Smith used to debate with himself in his midnight rambles. "No," he said, "an anarchy will not do. The people must be contented with the game, and let us have a law unto ourselves before the state can be lawless. If an anarchy were tried now, it would become merely another form of despotism, with the will of the weak and vicious at the actual despot. The man who can rule must avoid the responsibility of ruling until such time as the people are really able to do without rulers because each individual is capable of ruling himself."

And then, "I am going to tell this people so I am going to be honest!" It was then that he met the wraith of King Michael. "Take off the whiskers," said the ghost, "and tell them that they are the only difference between King Michael and Big Red Smith."

The next day Big Red did it publicly. And they hanged him from the battlements. He said, as he struggled: "Both as King Michael and Big Red Smith I did my best for the people, and they are lynching me for telling the truth."

But perhaps his life was not wasted. Telling them the truth about themselves is something, and may eventually sting them into progress.

DON MARQUIS.

## GOING AFTER DAUGHERTY'S SCALP

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## The Union Square That Was By David A. Curtis

WHEN the Morton House provided a side entrance to the lobby of the Union Square Theater and Wal-

lack's was right around the corner almost anybody in the world was likely to be met casually wandering along the Bialto, then located on Fourteenth Street, or strolling through the winding paths of the small, but exceedingly beautiful little park that is still cherished in the memory of old-timers as one of the most delightful spots on earth. To some of us, at least, it was almost a sanctuary. Traditions glorified it. Associations endeared it to us. The numerous resorts in the immediate neighborhood afforded us the companionship that made life vivid and the good cheer that enlivened existence to the nth degree.

The beauty that was then in evidence has since been desecrated by the subway. The resorts have been closed by Volstead. The stately mansions that dignified the northern aspect have been replaced by business buildings. The throngs we mingled with by day and night in the old time have scattered. The great glory of Union Square has become only a dream of the past, but in that dream there abide such memories as serve to make that past a precious possession.

To catalogue them all would be an